ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW
ED001898	NA	NA	

4. AUTHOR(S):
Smilanski, M.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED:
First Generalization for Experiments to Promote Intellectual Development of the Culturally Deprived

6. PUBLICATION TITLE:
NA

7. EDITOR(S):
NA

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
ORG. Conference of American Association for the Advancement of Science
CITY, STATE Montreal, Canada

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE Conference of American Association for the Advancement of Science, Montreal, Canada

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
NA	NA	Dec/64	25

TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

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TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☒
FINAL ☐
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR
speech

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

intellectual development	socio-economics	parent-school relationships	
culturally deprived	preschool programs	community development	
urban education	enrichment programs		

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Eleven generalizations from the outcomes of studies and experiments carried out by the Szold Institute over a period of two years were presented. The first negated the premises of a limited pool of ability and of the stability of I.Q. Tables demonstrated the possibility of raising the I.Q. of culturally deprived children by an average of about 20 points during the preschool period and about 10 points during adolescence. The second stated the importance of intellectual promotion at the preschool age. Results showed that it was feasible to develop a program for ages 3-6 which would lay proper foundation for realizing the objectives regarding desirable behavior, abilities, and knowledge.

The third was against the premise of "irreversibility." The fourth was special interest in the potentially gifted. The fifth was for a policy of "promoted equality" rather than "formal equality." The sixth presented the possibility of using strategic approaches in the absence of an inclusive theory. The seventh was that promotional activity should precede each stage of maturation instead of following it. The eighth was that culturally deprived children require an adaptation of didactics.

The ninth generalization discussed the roles and relationships of the school, the parents, and culturally deprived children. The tenth stated the need to integrate the school program with community development. The eleventh discussed the value of a psycho-social approach as compared to a psycho-genetic one.

ERIC No.	18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT		
	C. FUNDING DATA		
	19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
		22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
		23. DURATION OF PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1

0515

ED001898

FIRST GENERALIZATIONS FROM EXPERIMENTS TO PROMOTE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED

An outline presented by Dr. M. Smilansky at the conference of American Association for the Advancement of Science, Montreal, December, 30, 1964.

Dear Friends and Honourable Scholars:

I am very grateful for the opportunity to attend the conference, and share with you our thinking and experiences in the education of the culturally deprived. May I apologize for my English pronunciation, for I am the culturally-deprived in this group.

The topic chosen for presentation is very broad, and the problems that should be analyzed, summarized and focused are innumerable in their configurations; meanwhile our knowledge is only partial, and at the experimental stage.

To assure you an optimum sharing in our experiences, and to contribute through the presentation of a point of view, I decided to give a list of generalizations that are an outcome of studies and experiments carried out by the Szold Institute, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, during nearly 7 years.

Our experiments were an outgrowth of a series of diagnostic studies covering the educational ladder from the age of three up to higher education. They all pointed to the basic fact that problems of social integration are not solved "naturally". They require special and constant study, deliberate experimentation, and strong public commitment.

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Time would not allow me to describe the theoretical formulation and practical developments of the many trials promoted, the opposition encountered, and the mistakes made; so the following generalizations may serve as a summarized version of what seems to be emerging. Later, I shall supplement this statement with tables giving specific data, and, during the coming year, we shall provide both individual reports and a general monograph to present the case in detail. (see M. Smilansky, Education and Cultural Deprivation, in Press, fall, 1965)

1. OUR FIRST AND BASIC PROPOSITION IS AGAINST THE PREMISE OF A LIMITED POOL OF ABILITY AND THE STABILITY OF I.Q.

The concept of ability is to a great extent a social product. It is based on the opportunities afforded for experience, and the meaning of certain experiences to the individual or the group. Opportunities will vary in accordance with differences in child-rearing practices, with national policy and social climate, and with the structure and activities of the educational network, and abilities appearing in a population will vary accordingly. The appearance and development of abilities is dependent upon opportunity for their recognition and exercise.

It is possible to illustrate that concepts commonly held concerning the capacity boundaries on ability, i.e. "the limited pool of ability" in a population and the "stability of I.Q.", are the outcome of a static view of an educational system and of a society, and that, when viewed dynamically, abilities are susceptible to modifications whose limits are sufficiently broad to cast doubt on

the validity of the limited concepts commonly held. The pool of ability is much less limited than supposed, and the I.Q. is much less stable than has been taught.

Repeated national surveys in Scotland, England, the American Army and schools, the Israeli Army and schools, and in other group concentrations, have shown that there is no foundation for Cattell's famous warning about the decline of National Intelligence as a function of differential fertility. (As recently as this week, a similiar warning was issued by the Nobel Prize winner, Shockley, in a conference of geneticists at Stanford.) Indeed, on the contrary, improvement in social conditions and educational opportunities raises the number and per cent of an age group who reach a certain stage, as well as the norms on the tests. Different nations reflect different distributions on the I.Q. tests according to their social conditions; and nations, both in the West and the East, are able now to change the proportions of their youth able to graduate from higher educational institutions by changing the conditions affecting their youth.

One has to remember that narrow concepts of biologically limited ability were developed before an all out attack had been made on the intellectual promotion of the culturally or socially deprived.

As will be demonstrated later by tables, our pedagogical experiments point to the possibility of raising the I.Q. of culturally deprived children by an average of about 20 points during the pre-school period and of about 10 points at adolescence. In the lower brackets of the I.Q. range, the gain is nearly 30 points

in pre-school and 16 points at adolescence.

Evidence from our measurements in Kibutz nurseries points to even greater potentialities. Our follow-up of children from the kindergarten experimental groups shows that their gain is not an artificial kick-up, but that the raise is maintained, if proper education is continued.

Experiments in enrichment at the 2nd and 6th grade show the possibility of increasing I.Q. around 10 points while promoting better achievement on most Aptitude and Achievement tests. Additional experiments conducted during late adolescence show that, through boarding placement, special tutoring and enrichment programs, it is possible to increase the ratio of movement toward "matriculation" exams, and the rate of success on "matriculation", by about 50% when compared with control groups of similiar background.

Again, all this has been achieved in first trials, with relatively primitive media of instruction, when personnel especially trained for this purpose and didactic media, experimentally developed, have not been available.

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF INTELLECTUAL PROMOTION AT THE PRE-SCHOOL AGE.

In contrast to previously held assumptions concerning the inherent limitations of the pre-school age, and the necessity for a certain level of maturation to be reached before a child can begin and profit from learning which is "meaningful", we view these formative years as the most important ones, due to their powerful influence on the child's subsequent developmental momentum.

After 5 years of experimentation in this field, we can say that it is feasible to develop programs for ages 3-6 which will lay proper foundations for realizing our objectives regarding desirable personal behavior, abilities and knowledge.

Utilizing a promotion program at this age also provides a guarantee for (a) maximizing the prospects of continuing enrichment, and (b) launching a process of school success. These are the preconditions for the motivation and readiness necessary to benefit from additionaleducative settings and further learning.

With the results already available, it is possible to demonstrate possibilities (a) of changing motivation and achievement (b) of developing abilities through dramatic play, (c) of improving language, and (d) of producing a mean rise in I.Q. of about 20 points, as already stated.

In addition, results from testing children from culturally deprived parental backgrounds, who were born and reared in 21 different Kibutz nurseries, show them, at the age of 4-6, to be similiar in I.Q. to their European contemporaries in the same nurseries, and higher than the mean achievement of children from similiar ethnic background in town, whose parents come from higher socio-economic and educational background.

In our future work in this area, we will be moving downward to involve children in their 2nd year of life, moving upward to continue specific promotional practices in the first and second

years of school, and using more divergent approaches and more powerful media of instruction. I would like to add that, beginning this year, the Ministry of Education has put into operation a plan which, within a span of three years, will provide to every child aged 3-4 a free nursery, if he comes from a culturally deprived background.

3. AGAINST THE PREMISE OF "IRREVERSIBILITY".

Through our experience tells us that we get more significant change and progress with less effort at the pre-school age than at later ages, we do not conclude that effort expended with later age groups is wasted effort. We do not hold the premise of "irreversibility", i.e. that people at any given level of development cannot make gains if, at a prior period, they have missed out on gains which would more easily have been made in an earlier period. Rather, the question becomes: "in what respect, and on what cost, can man change at different ages?"

Evidence accumulating in different areas, in different countries, indicates to us that, at each developmental stage, it is possible to foster certain specific capacities which had not previously been developed. However, this requires means which match the circumstances.

This can be illustrated in Israel by adaptation of new immigrants from the primitive agrarian societies of Yemen, Kurdistan and Morrocan mountains to the demands of machine operation in newly developing industries; the adjustment of city-bred youth and adults of different cultures to agricultural and rural life, results of Israeli army technical training courses for high-school drop-outs at the ages of 16-17; the results of vocational education courses in Israel for trainees from African villages; and our own experiments in programming enrichment and high school academic education for culturally deprived adolescents, producing both a rise in I.Q. and an increase of about-50 per cent in the rate of "matriculation" passes. An analysis of these latter results is still in progress and a detailed elaboration will be possible at the end of the current school year.

Our proposition on this point is that "natural growth processes" follow an upward spiral development, periodically interspersed with critical points of "crisis", A "crisis" may be (a) "natural", i.e. a regular outcome of reaching a point of saturation, need for retrenchment and reorganization for the next leap; or (b) "cultural", i.e. an outcome of the demands of the culture to adapt, to find a new identity in order to perform a role chosen out of potential possibilities; or (c) "institutional", i.e. an outcome of new requirements posed by the social structure as a whole, or by one of its "gate-keepers" asking a proof of "readiness" or "matriculation".

In our culture we can see the "pre-school", the "early adolesence", and the "army-college" periods as such "crisis" periods, and we can utilize these periods for offering educational reorientation-reversibility-programs. This will mean opening a road to make a leap in the spiral of growth at a point where an individual seems "out of line" and ready for a try at "new adventures".

At each developmental level, and in different emotional and social stages of maladjustment, man has shown the strength to reverse the trend of his behavior either through his own "crisis reorientation," or with the assistance received from supportive systems, i.e. therapy or a law-enforcement agency.

Here again, evidence has been accumulating in recent years to show that most children brought to the notice of the school, or psychologists, or police and probation officers as falling into one or all of the categories of "disturbed", "maladjusted", "wayward", or "delinquent," have managed (either with or without getting the proper remedial or therapeutic psychological service) to reorient or adjust their behavior within the frames of expected norms (see follow-up studies of probation services, child-guidance services, school psychological services, etc.)

The same seems to emerge from the accumulating evidence on adult maladjustment, as evidenced through the studies evaluating psychotherapy.

If we bring together the above mentioned evidence, from both the intellectual growth and social-emotional adjustment studies, it looks as though one can generalize that man, at different stages and in different situations, is more able to learn and change than is commonly accepted by social scientists and practitioners. Man's so-called "irreversibility" seems more to be a product of our incapacity to see him as able to grow than of his own capacity to grow, given the proper chance.

4. SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE POTENTIALLY GIFTED

In our search for models of social action through educational promotion we realized the special possibilities in the promotion of the potentially gifted pupil from culturally deprived background.

Adding to the previously mentioned assumptions we propose that in a developing society; where opportunities for social and occupational mobility are available; it is possible and justified to raise motivation through the promotion of higher aspirations.

The upper group in a culturally deprived school is on the one hand the losing group--paying the price of being in an impoverished environment that does not promote intellectual potential; while on the other hand it is potentially the aspiring group toward mobility; because they have experienced success in their school environment, and are being rewarded for it by both school and home. They are also the group that is nearest to approach the regular norm, in ability and achievement. So by

suggesting to them and to their parents, that they are potentially gifted, and they can reach the goals of mobility, if they are ready to mobilize their intrinsic motivation; while promising them the proper emotional and technical support in the process. We are able to mobilize them to serve both as their change-agents, and as levers for the uplifting of group motivation and aspiration.

We tried in parallel two series of experiments with different approaches.

At the early adolescence stage the upper quarter of 16 culturally deprived schools were offered to attend voluntarily, twice a week in the afternoon (and during the summer for a whole day) for the three years of grades 6-8, a program of enrichment, especially planned for their needs; in a center organized outside their neighborhoods.

At later adolescence a process of identification and selection of potentially gifted individuals from culturally deprived background was initiated. Those selected (through teachers recommendation, test results, interviewing and observation camp) as promising and in need of support were given four years of free boarding-school or long day-care education. During the morning they were placed in good cooperative secondary schools and in the afternoon or evenings supportive tutorship, cultural enrichment, social education and individual guidance were made available.

Now, when the first graduating class passed the National Scholastic tests and the "matriculations" exams , it is possible to report that an unprecedented success has been achieved.

In the early adolescence enrichment program about 85% continued systematically their participation in the program; and as you see from the table their tested results versus appropriate control groups show a statistically significant rise in I.Q. and other tests. There is also the evidence from the schools that they had in most cases a very positive influence on social climates of their peer groups and grades.

In later adolescence group the first graduating class from the boarding home showed both a smaller drop-out rate (84% finishing academic high-school and reaching matriculation exams versus 62% in the control group) and better scholastic results (83% passing without any failure versus about 60% in the control groups).

Although not all evaluation data is already available it seems there is enough evidence to present these, or similar approaches, as promising models for affecting accelerated intellectual and social change process.

They promise not only the improvement of opportunities for a certain number of individuals, but a social-psychological "reference-group new orientation focus." We were able to observe that: first, youth and their families in these neighborhoods moved toward the acceptance of academic education as something that they can consider

as appropriate proposition for their group; secondly, schools in such communities found a promising reward for the potentially gifted; and thirdly, teachers and pupils in the secondary-academic schools concerned moved toward a change in their perception of the potentialities of pupils from culturally deprived background. Two reports on these projects are in preparation and in them one may find a more elaborated proposal of our assumptions, as also a detailed presentation of the available results.

5. INSTEAD OF "FORMAL EQUALITY", A POLICY OF "PROMOTED EQUALITY".

Equality, within a given society, is relative. Economic impoverishment, individual or group security, developmental retardation, learning failure, and similiar concepts in other areas are relative expressions for the modes of behavior and level of aspiration of individuals and groups in a society at a certain period. We may judge their meaning only by reference to a given society at a certain stage of its development.

Though, from an absolute standpoint, contrasting their present condition with their past condition, there is a recognizable improvement in the conditions of children and families from disadvantaged classes, whether in Israel or in the United States, or in most other developed societies, and there is a clear rise in their economic condition, rates of school attainment, and even in the level of achievement, the important differences in a given society are the relative differences between the strata of that society at a given time. While the disadvantaged groups have improved,

absolutely, the favored groups have improved even more, proportionately. The feeling of inequality is accentuated, as, with the development of mass media and "general democratization", the levels of aspiration of the lagging groups rise.

Once the leading visionaries of the "Welfare State" believed that the way to insure the removal of inter-class inequality was by guaranteeing the right of "formal equality" in access to all public services. However, experience during a quarter of a century has shown that this assumption is erroneous in most areas, and especially when related to the "culturally deprived". On the one hand, the gap is wider and deeper than it was estimated by political dreamers and administrators, and, on the other hand, the law of "To him who has even more shall be given" continues to operate. Thus it becomes increasingly clear, and can be demonstrated by illustrations from different areas of life experience, that any relative and significant change in the prospects of the race to "bridge the gap" can be achieved only through a national policy geared to preferential treatment for the deprived; it should equip him with means which will compensate for the fundamental weakness.

Since the execution of this type of policy engenders ideological, administrative and budgetary difficulties, there must be a special authority to deal with this function. Its authority and potentialities, both budgetary and organizational, must be consonant with the crucial nature of the problem, in all its political, economic, social and educational ramifications.

6. THE POSSIBILITY OF USING STRATEGIC APPROACHES IN THE ABSENCE OF AN INCLUSIVE THEORY.

The laying of a foundation for an encompassing theoretical framework which will clarify the interaction processes by which cultural patterns, social organization, personality development and learning processes are related, is an eminently worthwhile undertaking. Nevertheless, at the present stage of development of the behavior sciences on the one hand, and, in the presence of pressures for immediate action and change on the other, we are neither able nor coerced to await the end-product of theoretical explication. It is possible for us to exert influence on the image of the field under consideration (in this case the problems of underpriveleged children in the educational system) by positioning assumptions and partial propositions, and empirically checking them by pedagogical and psychological experimental tests. This can be achieved through a strategic approach which operates on the basis of opportunities for a partial movement from a specified base-line, using clear definitions of objectives, the creation of an experimental matrix of alternative experimental combinations, and the simultaneous interweaving of an on-going evaluation program.

Such an approach makes education an experimental proposition, based on the utilization of advances in the sciences, allowing education to serve as an unlimited testing-ground for the improvement of the potentialities of man and society.

(For a demonstration of this approach, see our reports on pre-school experiments and the experimental program for the identification and promotion of culturally deprived potentially gifted youth.)

7. PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITY SHOULD PRECEDE EACH STAGE OF MATURATION INSTEAD OF FOLLOWING IT.

A level of "readiness", or "maturation," is a function of a developmental stage. As commonly accepted, it is influenced by genetic potentialities, but we wish to emphasize that it is also influenced by environmental promotion.

The usual assumption is that a child should not be expected to respond in given ways until he has reached a stage of readiness to respond in those ways. Our work suggests, however, that the time of readiness can be advanced and the quality of development can be enriched by working with the children in the periods <u>preceding</u> overt evidence of "readiness". Our work also suggests that if the time of readiness passes without challenge from environmental agents (the home or the school) for the exercise of the abilities then ready for exercise, these abilities may not be developed.

The "deprivation" of "deprived children" may, indeed, be seen as largely due to the failure of environmental agents to provide the necessary nourishment to the children in advance of the time of their expected ability to exercise their capacities in given ways, and their failure, once the capacities are overtly ready for exercise, to challenge their use and development.

We, therefore, (a) take responsibility for the active fostering of abilities, and (b) act before, as well as during, the expected maturation time of each stage. In so doing, we may advance the time of "ripening", and increase the quality of development when "ripening" occurs.

The image that suggests itself in this connection is that of the producers of growing things in nature (farmers), who, by preparing the soil, spreading fertilizer, giving water, etc. before the seed or plant is expected to ripen, are able to assure an earlier ripening and a better quality in the fruit obtained. Human growth studies have shown that better nutrition and climate conditions bring earlier and better physical maturity as demonstrated by earlier sex maturation, taller physique, etc. And in the intellectual area, it is possible to demonstrate, in like fashion, both earlier and improved functioning through appropriately designed training programs (see our report on social dramatic play, O.K. Moore's work on teaching reading, etc.)

C. CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN REQUIRE AN ADAPATATION OF DIDACTICS.

Careful analysis of the position in which deprived children are found during their transition from home to kindergarten during their years in the kindergarten and the elementary school, and at maturity, shows that, on the one hand, they are not mentally

retarded, and so do not fit as subjects for education in special schools for the "handicapped", and, on the other hand, are not equipped to benefit from the curricula and procedures of the ordinary school program and didactics.

Educators and researchers in different countries, confronting this problem, have recommended that the problem be solved by slowing the tempo and reducing the range of the content (see: Life Adjustment Education Programs in the U.S., Modern School Programs in England, similar programs in other European countries, and resolutions of the Pedagogical Board in Israel.)

The approach in the pedagogical experiments carried out in the Szold Institute, however, has been different. We regard these children as being subjects neither for schools for the "handicapped" nor for the regular school regimen, slowed in tempo and reduced in range of content. What is needed is a <u>specially constructed curriculum, revised methods of teaching, and learning devices which are geared to filling in the gaps, reversing the trends and strengthening the deficiencies which have been produced by the specifics of their deprivation</u>.

In the experimental work over the past seven years, we have come to see, as the common ground to the different experiments, some principles which guide the development of the appropriate didactics:

(a) There is no need to await a level of maturation (a point already discussed).

(b) We should be active partners with the children, involved with them in their work to learn and to develop; teaching, training, guiding, fostering in quite active ways. We should not restrict ourselves to the indirect subtelties, "prepare the ground and wait back-stage" as seems often to have been the assumption in Progressive Education.

(c) The children need definite goals, short-term objectives which they can see themselves reaching at each developmental stage. These objectives should be given concrete meaning in a graded list of experiences so the child can gain positive emotional compensation at each step of the way, and can see himself as moving through a cumulative progression in learning.

(d) New concepts should be systematically built on the foundation of existing ones. It is imperative to know what the child's existing concepts are, and to build from that base toward new concepts that are important for his continued learning.

(e) Methodology and didactics of teaching should aim at building "learning sets" which enable the child to flexibly transfer from one set to another. Each "set" is a mode of intellectual abstraction and potential generalization, built from given experiences, and available along with other "sets" from other experiences, as grounds for still further intellectual abstraction and generalization.

(f) Methodology and didactics should aim at concentration in depth ("teach much in a limited area") and concentration in time (because details he has more in his slum neighborhood than the child in the quite suburb, but this is just "noise.")

(g) Methodology and didactics should be aimed at fortifying the child's successes rather then multiplying his failures.

(h) Methodology and didactics should utilize the different senses so as to maximize the chance of stimulating and using whatever potentiality there may be available for the child.

(i) Methodology and didactics should include a process of continuing diagnostic evaluation such that the teacher can know what is actually happening in the learning of given children and can provide what can next be actually used by each child in his progression. Without such evaluation, much teaching can be wasted and some can even be harmful in expecting the child to do what he cannot do.

So, tests should be used as means to test the validity of the assumptions made by ourselves concerning the pathways along which progress can be made. Their function is to evaluate what we do in our efforts to develop children, and to point to better ways in which we might work. Their role is diagnostic of our efforts as well as of the efforts of the children. When used on children, they are to serve our needs for improving teaching while they serve the needs of children to improve their learning. Tests are not

to be used, as so often they are used, for selecting children according to the views of "gate-keepers" for a dominant culture in a presumed static society.

9. THE SCHOOL AND THE PARENTS.

When building programs for the culturally deprived child, we have assumed that the home and the school are two very different systems. They are different in structure, expectations, requirements, behavior of children, rewards, etc.

We propose that the child can function in these two different systems successfully, provided two pre-requisites are fulfilled: (a) the child has a clear picture of the meaning of the school, and (b) the home gives its support to the school. For each pre-requisite, there are specific requirements.

In order that the child have a clear picture of the meaning of the school, the school needs (1) to help the child concretely know and understand its expectations, in all areas of its functioning, (2) to teach him how to behave according to these expectations, (3) to help him achieve success in his trials to adjust to demands, and (4) to reward him in ways meaningful to him, for his school success.

In order that the home be able to give its support to the school, the school needs (1) to accept the home as a home, (2) to try to sympathetically understand and support the home and its home-giving functions, (3) not to try to change the home or to

undermine it, and (4) to seek a union with the home at the point of common concern, which is the successful progress of the child in school.

Our experience teaches us that, under these conditions, culturally deprived parents will give their support to the school. They need to clearly see the relationship of schooling to the eventual social and occupational mobility of their child. They need to know, concretely, how the school works to offer their child success and to fortify their child as he experiences success. They need proof that the school is committed to the success of their child. They will then participate in supportive ways.

We view parent education not as re-education of parents, or psychotherapy, or social work, as seems sometimes to be the view when educators approach parent education in culturally deprived neighborhoods. We focus, instead, on the progress of the child, and we think of the home as having valuable support to give to the school in aiding the progress of the child.

When we speak of home support, it should be explained that, at different ages, different possibilities for cooperation with these parents exist. In the pre-school age programs, we have experimented in teaching parents to teach their children certain things required in school and, in the programs for adolescents, we have asked only for their understanding of our program and their support to their child when he comes voluntarily into an "enrichment" project where demands increase, home schedules are affected, and parental attitudes can make a critical difference.

May I add at this point three remarks: first, that from a study of child rearing practices in different ethnic groups we can say that parents from relatively low educational status can provide a stimulating environment for educational achievement. The important factor seems to be what the parents do, and not their level of education, although the general pattern of higher mean achievement for children from higher educational backgrounds still holds.

Second, that the influence of cultural patterns is much stronger than the influence of the level of education, or family size, or economic standards. Third, the culturally deprived school is not "a school without parents" as is usually stated; rather, it is more likely to be a school without teachers who are trained and supported to understand the home, to educate a child who comes from such a background, or to direct a promotive program adapted to his needs, as previously elaborated.

10. THE NEED TO INTEGRATE THE PROGRAM IN THE SCHOOL WITH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

The school may demonstrate success in promoting scholastic achievement of the culturally deprived even when its work is limited to school boundaries, as already demonstrated in data cited. But the possibilities are relatively limited unless there is planned coordination of effort with other state and community agencies.

Public housing policies, employment opportunities, vocational training programs, school zoning and other socially oriented measures will have their influences on the composition of different schools, the motivation of pupils to proceed towards certain goals, and the possibilities of promoting growth; so also will demographic developments in family planning, guidance of immigrant families to certain settlements, the movement of industry from one area to another, industrial automation, and similar changes in different spheres of life (a subject to be presented and analyzed in another context). All have their effect on the problems under consideration.

Activities in both the school and the community should be guided by the same principles and objectives; it is only the means that vary in accordance with the differential implications of each principle as it is translated into action in meeting specific needs of different segments of the population, at different stages of their development.

Unless we can plan with a comprehensive approach, and build school and community activity as mutually supporting growth systems, there is an actual, as well as psychological, danger of reaching a "stand-still" in the process of "bridging the gap." The effect of one development can be nullified by the effect of another, even though each may be regarded as "successful" within the limited view of its sponsoring agency.

11. A PSYCHO-SOCIAL APPROACH INSTEAD OF A PSYCHO-GENETIC ONE

Those who hold prominent positions in the dominant culture of a given society, at a given time, tend to a static view of the nature of society and a predominantly psycho-genetic view of the potentialities of individuals. The Educational System and the Psychological Service are given the role of "gate-keepers", concerned with preserving the dominant culture through the transmission of tradition exclusively to those whose present status appears to meet the criteria of the Establishment. These objectives are achieved through the use of "eleven plus" examinations, school zoning, "matriculation tests", and I.Q. tests which are presumed to be measures of inherent, biologically determined, psycho-genetic elements of ability.

In the light of (a) the need of a democratic society for a functioning equality among its people, (b) the need of a technologically developing economy for a speedy expansion of "the pool of ability", and (c) the evidence from research and experience in different countries that not only cultures and societies are in process of evolution and change, but that man's potentialities can be promoted, the task of the Educational System and the Psychological Service should be altered.

Instead of serving as "gate-keepers", these agencies should:

(a) try to identify, diagnostically, those social and cultural determinants which set constraints on the appearance and activation of human potentialities, and,

(b) conduct systematic search, experimentally, for ways to deal with, and promote, their emergence and growth.

Tests, examinations, and other selective devices should serve these purposes, oriented to the psycho-social development of individuals and society. A different statement of objectives, structure and mode of operation should result.

The Educational System and the Psychological Service should view themselves as responsible change agents, seeking the actualization of human potential, guided by professional knowledge, derived from an active research and development program.